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REVIEWS.

Industrial Democracy. By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. 2 vols. Pp. 929.

THESE strong volumes follow other notable studies by the same writers. This claims to be a sociological discussion. "Sociology, like all other sciences, can advance only upon the basis of a precise observation of actual facts;" it is a science which deals with facts at first hand. The principle of classification of the vast mass of materials is the end of the associated persons, the direct intention with which the regulations were adopted. The methods of investigation are set forth. The authors began with the structure and functions of the unions, adopted a careful system of note taking, and sought knowledge from documents, personal observation, and interviews. They express a strong sense of the value of sociological investigation. "A knowledge of social facts and laws is indispensable for any intelligent and deliberate human action. The whole of social life, the entire structure and functioning of society, consists of human intervention. The essential characteristic of civilized, as distinguished from savage, society is that these interventions are not impulsive, but deliberate; for, though some sort of human society may get along upon instinct, civilization depends upon organized knowledge of sociological facts and of the connections between them. And this knowledge must be sufficiently generalized to be capable of being diffused. We can all avoid being practical engineers or chemists; but no consumer, producer, or citizen can avoid being a practical sociologist." The plea for funds to pursue investigation should be heard.

Part I deals with "Trade-Union Structure," primitive democracy, representative institutions, the unit of government, and inter-union relations. It may seem strange to some to look for real political lessons in the long despised trade unions. But most interesting experiments have been tried with the assembly of members, the initiative and referendum. The general tendency has been toward representative government for all large and general plans. In industrial associations

as in municipal and national politics the problem is to combine administrative efficiency with popular control; and experience in unions shows that the representative must have professional training of one kind, and the administrative officer must have technical knowledge of the routine methods of the office. Inter-union relations require organization to promote common interests, while home rule must be given freedom to protect peculiar and local interests.

Part II is given to "Trade-Union Function." The vague aspirations of workmen, as the elevation of life, the promotion of the common good, find expression in their laws. But these common-places are made definite in the regulations of the unions and in the methods employed to enforce these regulations. The methods are mutual insurance, collective bargaining, and legal enactments. The regulations relate to specific ends and grievances: the standard rate, the normal day, sanitation and safety, new processes and machinery, continuity of employment, entrance into a trade, and right to a trade. The method of mutual insurance is a means of holding the union together. The insurance is not a primary purpose and is not so secure as in a friendly society, having no actuarial basis or legal standing. But for union purposes the reserve funds are more valuable than savings banks, because (p. 166) they enable the *community* of workmen to acquire wealth, and the possession of wealth binds them into a compact body.

The method of collective bargaining is vital to trade-unionism. The group makes contracts with the employer through a representative and not as individuals. Slowly employers have been coming to accept this principle. The individual wage-earner is weak, while the union is strong. Only by combination can a contract be made on fairly equal terms with a capitalist. But even collective bargaining has its limitations. In the last resort it may end in failure to agree—the strike or lockout. The community may thus be injured. Arbitration is proposed as a help at this point; but arbitration has no sanction. Its chief value lies in conciliation. Compulsory arbitration would mean the fixing of wages by law, and in 1896 the colony of Victoria began an experiment with this policy.

The method of legal enactment is old. The trade unions of the eighteenth century were formed chiefly for the purpose of enforcing legal rules. With the adoption of *laissez-faire* principles, from 1800 onward, this machinery became useless. Excluded from collective

bargaining by combination laws and from legal enactment by theory, the workmen from 1800 to 1825 fell back on mutual insurance, secret coercion, and riots. Up to 1867 collective bargaining became popular, and, after extension of the suffrage, legal enactment was more employed.

Turning to the regulations and their intention, we are taught the meaning of the movement. The standard rate is the one regulation which is practically universal, and it calls for a payment according to some definite standard, uniform in its application. The great industry, with its machinery running at a nearly uniform speed and its large collections of workers, seems to demand greater uniformity of wages. This does not mean equality of wages, but only a minimum rate to prevent the "adulteration of labor" by competition with the incapable.

The employer is biased in favor of a long day. The unions believe the extension of the day means a breaking down of the standard rate, and they resist it. There is a strong tendency to seek to limit hours by law. During the century the hours of labor have been considerably shortened, although overtime continues, and in backward districts the day is still long.

Great progress has been made in enforcing regulations favorable to health and safety. The individual workman is helpless. Even trade-union bargaining is of little avail. The method of legal enactment is the only efficient way, and in this matter public opinion helps the workmen. Employers' liability will not take the place of measures to prevent accident, because it is cheaper for employers to insure with some company than introduce costly protective appliances.

The unions have been able to diminish the tragic pain and misery attending the introduction of new machinery and processes, when the skill acquired by a life work is suddenly rendered valueless. The boot- and shoe- and papermakers have been able to devise means for holding their own without interrupting the use of the best machinery. Even handicraftsmen in some lines, by keeping up price and quality, have maintained their advantages alongside the factory system. It has been more difficult to secure continuity of employment, but even here irregularity and uncertainty have been in a measure corrected. Full explanations are given of the policy of unions relating to entrance upon a trade, child work, and the right to a trade.

Under "Implications of Trade-Unionism" the authors give a lucid

explanation of certain beliefs and prejudices of workmen which outsiders often find it difficult to understand. For example, trade unions do not wish to be incorporated, because liability to suit at law would ruin the union. They oppose "home work" and the small master system, because the worst evils of cut-throat competition linger in these belated forms of industry. They oppose the organization of sick, accident, and burial benefits managed by the employers, because this gives the employers artificial means of control. They oppose profit-sharing, because this bribes men to desert each other with the faint hope of a small premium.

The assumptions of trade-unionism must be considered in any complete view. One conviction is fundamental: social conditions can, by deliberate human intervention, be changed for the better. Three great doctrines have been urged at different times and on different grounds: the doctrine of vested interest in trade, the doctrine of supply and demand, and the doctrine of a living wage. The scheme of the "sliding scale" is inconsistent with the maintenance of the living wage, and the unions believe that the means of efficiency must be provided, and that the price of the product must carry assurance of this minimum. Alliances of employers and wage-workers are formed to keep up profits and wages. The result of this alliance is that the use of invention and machinery is stimulated, inefficient workmen are excluded, the product is thereby increased, and the wealth of the country is enhanced. Of course there is no absolute guaranty to the community that articles of consumption may not be raised in price.

At this point the authors introduce a statement which should be carefully considered in this country, where labor legislation is in its beginnings, especially in the newer manufacturing districts. English public opinion has reached a stage of education where the conditions essential to health and efficiency are not left to the will of employers nor to the struggle attending the higgling of a market. Law determines not only the condition of the shop, but the length of hours for children, and, since 1847, of adult women in certain industries. By an act of 1893 this legislation was extended to protect adult men in the railway service. The decision of the Illinois courts on this principle would seem to be as antiquated as the Dred Scot decision. The writers believe that it will be as easy to give a physiological definition of a minimum living wage, to be enforced by law, as of a maximum day, and this radical doctrine is discussed with eminent ability.

Among trade-unionists there are conservatives, individualists, and collectivists, as among other citizens. Therefore it is not wise for trade-union congresses to discuss the land question, municipalization of monopolies, and other problems about which they know no more than their fellow-citizens, and on which they cannot agree.

Part III deals with "Trade-Union Theory." According to the ancient and rigid form of the wage-fund theory, there seemed to be no possibility of affecting the rate of wages by combination. It was a simple question of division: so much fund set apart for wages divided by the number of workmen, and the individual wage rate is found. This theory the authors examine in the light of recent economic discussion, and conclude that it is definitely abandoned. In a similar way they criticise the use made of the population doctrine. In the present form of these theories they find nothing inconsistent with moderate trade-union claims, and they accept the verdict of economists as substantially valid.

Under the head, "Economic Characteristics of Trade-Unionism," we find a critical estimate of the methods and regulations of the unions. The device of restriction of numbers is no longer much used, and is practically obsolete. It goes with the abandoned wage-fund theory; it would prevent selection of the best workmen and would restrict the extension of business. The ease with which a man can pass from one occupation to another kills this device. The device of the common rule and minimum wage is more efficacious. Its tendency is to compel managers to select the more capable workmen. The parasitic trades are not only an obstacle to the unions, but a burden to society; for the incapable who are not supported by the wages of their calling must depend partly on charity. The minimum of support should be fixed by law and enforced by factory rules. These regulations will leave a residuum who cannot find any place in competitive industry, the unemployable. These persons are already largely supported by alms or theft, and society must provide for them in a way which will remove them from the misery and ruin of their present situation and from the possibility of dragging down the capable and industrious wage-earners, who, without this dead weight about their necks, could take care of themselves. The unemployable would be collected in non-competing colonies, and their imperfect labor so directed that they could earn at least more for themselves than they are doing now. Mr. Charles Booth had some time since reached a similar conclusion. It would mean something

like slavery, but slavery is a social state relatively superior to that deep and brutal savagery in which so many of the "submerged" habitually live. Nothing in such treatment would stand in the way of restoring to liberty all who could be educated and trained to enjoy it without detriment to society.

The frankly socialistic bias of the authors is not concealed, and it seems at places to color the reasoning. But the book as a whole bears every mark of honest, thorough, and highly intelligent investigation and statement. It is simply indispensable to a student of the labor movement in this century.

C. R. HENDERSON.

Introduction to the Study of Sociology. By J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, D.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1898. Pp. xii + 336. \$1.50.

"NOT an introduction to *sociology*, but to its *study*" (p. 239). The book was prepared for three classes of inquirers: *first*, "the large class of professional men and other persons of culture who have had no instruction in sociology, but are desirous of obtaining an idea of its nature and materials, and of pursuing its study privately; *second*, students who have no sociology in their collegiate course, but realize that without it their education and their preparation for life are incomplete; *third*, teachers of social science who desire a compend as the basis of their instruction, or who, while lecturing on sociology, want a manual in the hands of their students."

Every person who is teaching sociology, or proposing to teach it, ought to read this book. The fewer of the other two classes who get hold of it the better. The main subjects discussed are: I, "The Genesis of the Idea of Society;" II, "Definition and Scope of Sociology;" III, "The Relation of Sociology to Other Social Disciplines;" IV, "Division of Sociology;" V, "The Principles of Society *per se*;" VI, "The Historical Evolution of the Principles of Society;" VII, "Sociological Ethics, or the Progress of Society;" VIII, "The Method in the Study of Sociology;" IX, "Is Sociology a Science?" X, "The Sociological Study of the Age."

Dr. Stuckenberg's view of sociology is sane and comprehensive. Hence its value for teachers. A person fit to teach sociology would profit by comparison of his own conception of the subject with that outlined in this volume. I protest, however, against so much beginning to get ready to prepare to commence, as a way of introducing